

# The Republican.

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No. 24, VOL. 12.] LONDON, Friday, Dec. 16, 1825. [PRICE 6d.

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## TO THE "ALBIONITES."

CITIZENS,

Star Inn, Southampton, Dec. 3, 1825.

THE people of this Island want some distinctive name. They ought not to be longer known under the names of English, Scotch and Welsh, as implying three distinct nations. They are in fact, now but one nation and require but one name. We are no longer in danger of an invasion that shall introduce a new people among us, and one name would do much to break up the provincial prejudices that exist. Dr. Stukely called the old inhabitants of this Island by the name of Albionites: and as *Albion* was the common name given to the Island from the whiteness of its shores, as seen from the continental coast, and as the name carries with it no ideas of that conquest and slavery which the Danish, Saxon and Norman Invaders have brought into the Island, it should become a matter of national or insular ambition to revert to some common name, and particularly to so old and unobjectionable a name as that of Albion and Albionites. Further than to the political utility of the measure, my taste moves not; but I do perceive a political utility in the measure, and I wish, hereafter, in addressing the Albionites, to be understood as addressing the whole people of this Island, and of such of the adjacent Islands, as may desire to live under our political protection. Brevity that has full expression is always to be preferred and the name of Albionites is more comprehensive and more distinctive than that of Britons, and unsullied with associations of conquest and slavery.

My journal of movement left me at Exeter. I found some difficulty to get out of that city with grace toward old and new acquaintances, but before I left, I obtained an extract, by the hand of a friend, of John Cooke's occasional bulletin. This man has been in the habit of posting these bulletins before his house from the time of my first acquaintance with that city, which was in 1808; and his apparent purpose seems to be, to instruct the good people of Exeter in matters of politics! By profession, this man is a saddler, and had he more intellect, his intense mental excitement would bring on that species of insanity which requires restraint. He owes his liberty of unlimited locomotion to the obtuseness of his brain or nervous system and he opposes the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes because he learnt nothing in his youth but the pronunciation of his alphabet, and nothing,

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Printed and Published by R. Carlile, 135, Fleet Street.

in an advance toward old age, but to prove his incapacity to write or to utter a correct sentence. This shall be proved by a specimen of his bulletins; for in making an extract we have preserved his errors of language, his ignorance of *words*. Of any *things* but the trappings of a horse, he does not profess to teach. He speaks and writes occasionally in rhyme, of which we are to have a specimen. In speaking against the Mechanic's Institute of Exeter, he said:—

“ I am for God, the Church and the King,  
And for every other useful thing.”

This was a poetical error of Johnny's; for the Mechanics' Institute, against which he was speaking, is evidently a useful thing, and he will find some difficulty in defining the utility of a God, a Church or a King. John Cooke has not clearness of vision enough to see, that, property is the only criterion of a country's prosperity, that property arises from nothing but labour, and that God, Church and King consume without adding any thing to property. If excessive taxation be an evil, we receive it from a God, a Church and a King.

*The following is an Extract of a Placard in large Writing placarded in a Gateway belonging to John Cooke a sadler in the High Street, Exeter, Friday, November 25, 1825.*

Gratest Bulletin of Intelligence  
But your not to forget Diligence

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Market day, Friday 25. November. Full Moon  
this afternoon. Three weeks to the shortest day Next Wednesday.

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England is going on remarkable well, the present years  
revenue, is near two million of increase

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I need not say that this day is as mild  
as it is in April or September, fine weather

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It is to be hope that some channel will  
remind the Chancellor of Finance, to take  
off the house and windor Taxes.

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England is improving so well that she does not  
stand in need of three trump up Institutions,  
1. Combination,  
2. Christian Evident Society at a Room in London for all vice,  
3. Nor a Mechanic's Institution, to *learn* Philosophy.

This is a specimen of tory or corporation politics in Exeter, and it certainly reflects highly to the wisdom and honour of those who call themselves reformers, that the advocates of things as they are, have, in Exeter, no better advocate. Logic, from John Cooke, must not be expected; but he should avoid plain contradictions. “England is going on remarkably well:”—“England is improving:”—A *channel* should remind the chancellor of Finance that house and window taxes should be taken off. England going on remarkably well” implies, that it has not gone on badly. “England improving” implies, that it has gone on badly;

which John Cooke never admitted, and the necessity of a *channel* asking the Chancellor of Finance to take off taxes implies, that it is still going on badly.

I moved from the reading of this bulletin towards a specimen of England's improvement. On the following day, I reached Plymouth, too late in the evening of the Saturday, to see the run upon the existing banks. The town was in a state of lamentation, and if the one half, with its inhabitants, had been swallowed by an earthquake, the other half could not have been in a greater state of alarm and grief. It was observed, that it was well for the existing bankers, that the run began on a Saturday, so as to give the respite of a Sunday. Mr. Cobbett has obtained and published precise information upon this subject, and as it is one peculiarly his own, on which he leaves no room for addition, comment from me would be superfluous. I heard a statement, which he has not mentioned, that the tradesmen of one small street, Cornwall Street, lost six thousand pounds by the breaking of Sir William Elford's bank, and one of these tradesmen two thousand pounds of that sum. Many old people, who had trusted their small independence of labour to this bank, were seen in the streets on the Saturday bewailing their change from comparative affluence to pauperism. The legislature must regulate this banking system, for, in its present state, there is not the least security for any depositings of property with them, and their eventual breaking seems a matter of certainty. I have seen a brief notice, that the Ashburton bank has failed. If so, it is the second case of the kind. The Abrahams enriched themselves by the silliness of their neighbours, and then made a failure to pay their promissory notes or to return the property that was entrusted to them, and though Mr. Winsor began with more property, he seems to have taken a similar step. It is a sort of gratification to me that these bankers have been among my most bitter enemies in that town, and have tyrannically sought the injury and expulsion from the town of any one of my relatives that would say a favourable word for me, during my imprisonment. I exhort my friends not to trust the banking fellows with a farthing's worth of their property.

To return to Johnny Cooke, we find him calling the Christian Evidence Society a room for all vice, that is, a public association for no other purpose than public discussion is called vicious! I had an inclination to propose an interview with him, having known his family and connections from my youth; but on a second consideration, it occurred to me, that there would be no honour obtained in discussing a point with a man so decidedly ignorant and full of bad habits.

The Christian Evidence Society is exciting great interest throughout the country, and by what I have heard from persons and by letters, there is a general desire that the discussions be made public, or that the Reverend Secretary visit the large towns



for the local extension of his discussions. This society, so far from being vicious, as John Cooke asserts, is doing much good, and if the managers of it be only wise enough to abstain from forced or pressing contributions on the audience and let it rest on voluntary contributions, it will go on to occupy the places of public worship and form affiliations throughout the country. No, no, Mr. Johnny Cooke, there is nothing vicious in discussion, and it can only be offensive to ignorant and dishonest persons. The Christian Evidence Society is a society for discussions, though not for free discussion, as its topics are limited. For instance, a defence of atheism, or what is called materialism, is not allowed, a circumstance which renders it not free enough for me to have any participation in its proceedings, though I shall occasionally become one of the audience. Though limited in its discussions it can do nothing but good, and the man, who can see any thing wrong in Mechanics' Institutes, cannot be expected to see any thing right in a Christian Evidence Society. Evidence is not what the Christian wants, of which the following narrative will be a proof :—

On my return from Plymouth to Exeter, I met a methodist local preacher by appointment. The first point in his conversation was an assurance that he rested upon nothing but the *evidence of his senses*; and the last, after a little questioning, which shewed the absence of all evidence, acknowledged, that the Christian must rest upon FAITH. There is no making a convert of such a man, there is no instruction in such a discussion, and we can only appeal from him to one who will not rest upon faith unsupported by the evidence of his senses.

In travelling from Exeter back to Dorchester, I had a Devonshire Curate for a companion, an elderly gentleman; but certainly the most liberal as a politician, if not the most intelligent clergyman that I have met. His hat was the only badge of his office, and his vivacity appeared to extend even to his habiliments. To all appearance, on meeting him, I was unknown and unsuspected, though he had heard of my being in Exeter. We talked of the breaking of banks; of the Catholic question; of the Reverend Mr. Taylor, and his molestation in Dublin; of the London Christian Evidence Society, and of Carlile! He wished the Catholic question at rest, as a means of breaking up a bitter dissension, by putting the Catholics on the same footing with other dissenters. He expressed his disapprobation of Mr. Taylor's taste, in assuming the character of both a clergyman of the Established Church and a preacher against it. But as for Carlile, though his writings were to be condemned, he was an open, manly fellow and was known how to be dealt with. I asked him if he had read any of Carlile's writings. He said none but such as had appeared in such newspapers as had come in his way: and this he confessed could form no fair specimen for judgment.



After a few miles ride, I told him, that my continuing longer unknown to him would constitute a matter of deception, which his evident urbanity and liberality did not merit. He was somewhat startled at knowing the name of his companion; but manfully said, that my liberation was the only act connected with common sense that he had known the government to perform. His conversation grew more and more agreeable, and, as he did not seem to court controversy, I did not press it, never press it in common conversation. Our journey was one of instruction and congratulation and we cordially shook hands at parting at Dorchester.\* I found that he had been persecuted, as an Irishman, during the political contests in that country, and he was minutely acquainted with all the best men of that ill-fated island, who had suffered or were suffering. He was certainly possessed of a little redeeming grace for the character of the clergymen of the established church in this country, and we could both agree in wishing that there were more like him. Could I reach him in print, I would express a hope of another interview on some future day, either in town or country. A more agreeable and more instructive travelling companion, I never met, and, as I presume, that he would say of me, "pity, that this man should be an atheist;" so, I say of him, pity, that such a man should be a Christian and a priest.

Short as was my stay in each town through which I passed, I marked a great change in the public mind upon the subject of religion. To me, it appears, that any man may attack it without molestation and with encouragement, in any town in this country. Wherever I have been known, I have found nothing but approbation, and in Exeter, Plymouth, and Portsea, I was surprised at the accumulation of friends at a short notice, of which I had no previous knowledge. As the fine weather returns, I will put the public feeling fairly to a trial throughout the country, or over as much of it as I can pass, and every where invite mild and fair and free discussion. I purpose to do it by circular letters to the preachers of the Christian religion in each town of note. Then I shall produce a more full and formal journal; this is the description of a running visit, a mere shewing to my old friends in Devonshire and Hampshire, that I was not metamorphosed into that great dragon about which they have read and heard so much.

RICHARD CARLILE.

#### DIALOGUE

BETWEEN PARSON KNOTTESFORD AND MR. LANCASTER.

K. Oh! how I wish those good old times would return, when something like strenuous measures for crushing mischievous opi-

\* On my arrival in town, I find the Reverend Gentleman's card at my shop, and hear that he has narrated the incident of our meeting to a Bookseller in Paternoster Row.

nions could be taken. This rage, this mania for what is called instruction, is quite disgusting. Would that we might imitate the example of the scholars of the university, who killed the rascally mathematician Ramus, and dragged his naked and bloody body from door to door of all the colleges, as an example to other philosophers, and also as a small repayment for the mischief he had caused in bringing their system of tuition into contempt.

*L.* Who was Ramus? He must have been an abominable character to have deserved such treatment; he must surely have committed some most enormous crimes?

*K.* Most certainly: he tried to make people think for themselves: he offended the colleges by writing against the Greek philosopher Aristotle; but he was also suspected of entertaining opinions much worse. It is, indeed, a great pity, that some people who take the trouble to dispense knowledge, are not served in the same manner now-a-days; and that the books of those philosophers who have lived are not collected into piles and burnt publicly. That Bayle, that Montaigne, that Helvetius, and that Voltaire, who have dared to joke and reason so artfully against us, all richly deserved the same fate as the philosopher whom I have mentioned. Oh! had they been punished, what a fine moral lesson for posterity it would have been for ever and ever. In fact these people who reduce every thing to reason are the pests of a state as well as of a church establishment.

*L.* So far as people reason falsely and badly I agree with you, because they are then both tiresome and insupportable, but even then, I do not think that we ought to hang or imprison a poor man, because in his search after knowledge and truth he has made some false syllogisms. If I remember right the people whom you have mentioned to me as deserving of punishment, have employed their talents in reasoning both excellently and usefully.

*K.* That makes the matter worse;—they are the more dangerous.

*L.* Dangerous? To whom, if you please? Is there a single instance of a philosopher having brought war, famine, or pestilence, into a country? The great philosopher Bayle for example, against whom you declaim with so much violence, did he ever form the detestable wish that the dykes would give way in Holland, and so drown all the inhabitants of that country, as it is said, that a certain great minister wished? but this minister truly was no philosopher?

*K.* Would to God that that Bayle and his writings had been drowned as well as all the free-thinking Dutch, for a more abominable man has never lived, saving that diabolical rascal Voltaire. He exposes abuses and opinions with so odious a fidelity; he brings together the *pro* and *con* with so criminal an impartiality; he writes with so intolerable a clearness and precision,

that the people of the commonest understanding can comprehend him; and are enabled to judge, and to doubt of the truth of matters for themselves. This is not to be endured: for myself, I own it, I always fall into a holy fury, when this man, or others of the same sort, are mentioned to me.

L. I do not think they have ever wished to put you in a passion. But why do you go away?

K. I am going to the house of the minister Flimflam. I have been waiting for an audience these last two days, but he is so much engaged, sometimes with the privy council, and sometimes with his Italian opera-dancer, that I have not yet succeeded in obtaining the honour of speaking to him.

L. But now, I know he is actually at the opera, attending a rehearsal. What business have you with him that is of so pressing a nature?

K. I want him to give me the assistance of his name and credit, to inform against and imprison a young teacher, who is spreading amongst the poor the knowledge of the sentiments and opinions of the philosopher Locke. Can one conceive any thing more abominable?

L. Why so; what are the peculiar opinions of this philosopher?

K. I can hardly speak from my own knowledge, as I have never read his works, but others tell me, that he says, we are born without any ideas, either good or bad; that we only receive our notions of good and bad from education, and that thus we must beware of receiving as true the prejudices of any particular country; and carefully distinguish and estimate knowledge, in proportion as it can be made useful to increase the happiness of the whole world. He proves that we have no innate ideas by the closest demonstration, and thus leads people to reflect, whence they receive their opinions from, and wherefore they hold them as true: by which reflection half that is usually taught as true, must be rejected, since it has no foundation but fancy and prejudice. Moreover, he says, we know nothing of the essence or elements of matter; that our senses are our only means of knowledge; that men think not always; that a drunken man who falls asleep has no clear or connected ideas during his slumber and intoxication; and a hundred other similar impertinencies, that I cannot now recall to my memory, but which are all contrary to the doctrines of the church, and consequently bad and untrue.

L. Well, but if this young teacher who is a disciple of Locke, is silly enough to believe (in spite of your declarations to the contrary) that a drunken man thinks much and collectedly during his slumber, why should we *persecute* him for that? What harm has he done, or can he do by this opinion? Has he conspired against the state; has he proclaimed that theft, calumny, and murder, are good actions? Tell me now candidly can you contra-



dict him? or, if you will not reply to that question, will you tell me honestly whether a philosopher has ever caused the slightest commotion in society?

*K.* No, never, I confess that sincerely.

*L.* Are they not for the greatest part men of very retired lives? Are they not generally poor without protection and without support from the governing authorities? Is it not partly for these reasons that you prosecute them, and that you are better able to oppress them?

*K.* Formerly those belonging to this sect were people of no weight in society. Such men as Socrates, Erasmus, Bayle and Locke were none of them opulent: but now the dangerous opinions (falsely called philosophy) have by this means spread every where. They have mounted to the throne, and even to the tribunals of justice! people now pique themselves on what they call their reasoning faculty, but which, truly, is merely a facility of stringing unmeaning words together with rapidity, and serving in those places, where fortunately for the unwary and simple we abound, and which, consequently, we have put into good order, we find this intellectuality, this reason prevailing every where. To the man who wishes to see his wandering brethren inspired with the fear of God, and reverence for those who impart his holy word to them, such a state of things is truly lamentable! and as we are unable to revenge ourselves and the insulted majesty of the church upon the opulent learned, it is our duty to try to exterminate, at least, all those who, though they are poor and without power, yet raise themselves from insignificance by endeavouring to enlighten others.

*L.* To revenge yourselves! and pray why? Have these poor people ever tried to obtain your employments, or prerogatives, or wealth?

*K.* No, but they despise us, if the truth must be spoken. Sometimes they make game of us, and that we can never pardon.

*L.* If they make game of you, they certainly do not act quite right, we should make game of no one; but pray tell me, why they have never joked at the useful institutions of their country, but have reserved all their merriment for you and your establishment?

*K.* Truly it is this conduct which makes my blood boil; for our holy institutions are independent of, and above all laws.

*L.* That is the reason which has made so many honest and good people turn you into ridicule. You wish that the laws which should be founded upon reason and utility, should become dependent upon any opinion that your caprice may think proper to bring into the world. Do not you feel that those actions and opinions which are just, clear, and evident, are universally respected, whether the person who holds them is a Mahometan,

Chinese, or Christian; and that consequently chimeras and useless fables, and unjust actions, can never obtain the same veneration.

*K.* Let us leave the laws and judges; let us keep to the philosophers. It is certain that formerly they have said, and wrote, and taught as many absurd and ridiculous things, as they say we have, and thus we have a right to elevate ourselves against them, even if we should only do so from a feeling of jealousy at their entering into our profession.

*L.* Many of them undoubtedly have taught foolish doctrines, as well as other men; but still their chimeras and speculations have hurt no one but themselves. They have never lighted up civil wars, while yours have caused more than one.

*K.* Because the doctrines we had to inculcate were so much more important to mankind, and as an old divine once said, "so admirable, that it is a fine thing to trouble the whole world by the arguments adduced in support of them." Do not we resemble those ancient enchanters who excited tempests with their words? We should be the complete masters of the human mind, if it was not for these thinking visionaries employing their time and talents in exciting the mass of the people to follow their example.

*L.* Well, but point out to them where they are visionary, shew them where they are wrong, prove to them that they reason badly and perniciously for human happiness.

*K.* Human happiness! this is one of their theoretical terms by means of which they cause so much mischief in society. Under the garb of this term these infamous speculatists engage the young and simple to follow their steps in breaking down the barriers of social order, and in disregarding those holy places of worship, so necessary to the production of happiness, both here and hereafter. We are fully aware what constitutes human happiness, and therefore we want the whole world to be contributors.

*L.* But if the happiness you would bestow is opposed to the feeling of the world, as to what really will constitute its happiness, surely you should not be allowed to pursue your schemes.

*K.* If the simpletons, I had almost said the fools, knew what was for their benefit, they would know that there is no happiness to be found, but in the precepts of that blessed religion which our Church establishment endeavours to diffuse, and they would promote the servants of that Church as their best friends and guides to their truest interest. Is it not by our mediation that they gain ages of bliss hereafter? Are not these philosophers, these damnable atheists, in ridiculing our doctrines of the soul's existence, destroying essentially the happiness of the multitude?

*L.* If you can prove the existence of the soul, how can these men, whom you so abuse, ridicule it? Bring but your evidence and no ridicule can overturn it.

*K.* Our faculty of thinking, our faculty of memory, so totally

independent of the body, surely afford incontrovertible evidence that the soul or intellectual principle is also of a different nature.

L. I confess I do not see the weight of that argument, for if the soul is of a different nature, and has nothing in common with the rest of matter, the known laws of bodies cannot be applied so as to determine its properties, without we have something that resembles it, in asserting its existence we must fall into an assumption quite contrary to reason. It seems impossible to me to decide upon the existence, or not, of what is called the soul; to me it appears that the faculty of thinking is entirely dependent upon the body, since through the assistance of the body is it alone brought into action.

K. Ah! stop I will not hear blasphemy under the cloke of reason. These are the ideas of Locke and the sect of madmen that I execrate and condemn. Such principles lead directly to deny the immortality of the soul.

L. Before we can decide upon the immortality of the soul, we must decide upon what the soul is. We do not pronounce beforehand upon a clock that it will go eight days, or a month; no, we stop and examine its workmanship and construction, and when we have obtained evidence we pronounce with accuracy. Let us pursue the same method with the soul, it seems difficult to believe that a part exists in me, which will feel and think after *I myself* am no more. Before my birth no part of me had sensation or thought; (at least not to my knowledge, and therefore useless to all intents and purposes as far as it concerned me) and wherefore then should any thing remain after I am gone? From the analogy of vegetable and animal life that surround us, we can draw no inferences that will assist us in our inquiry. We hear no more the humming of the bee, when the bee is dead. We see no trace of vegetation when the plant is uprooted. Moreover, I find that I can increase my ideas to any extent, that they depend upon the circumstances in which I am placed; and that there are examples of idiots and madmen who are by no means wanting in ideas, but who have no regulating controul over them; and also of people whose ideas are very few and ill-arranged from their never having been educated.

K. I do not mean to discuss any of these points with you. I can no more explain these mysteries and phenomena than you can. All that I know is, that it is highly necessary that a belief in the immortality of the soul, and the belief in its existence as a perfectly separate part from our bodies, should prevail. It is necessary to uphold good order and to prevent these theoretical wild revolutionists from overturning state and church, under the pretext of general intellectualization, and therefore as a minister of that holy establishment, I shall prevent to the utmost in my power the spreading of opinions so fraught with misery and ruin to the country which imbibes them.



*L.* But you are establishing schools, and by taking the management of them into your own hands, you are lending your support to the system of teaching the poor. How do you reconcile this conduct with your contrary opinions?

*K.* You touch upon a tender string. It is because we are forced by these enemies of mankind to exert ourselves.

*L.* But as so many other people are willing to undertake the whole business of educating the poor, I see no reason for your imposing the trouble upon yourselves.

*K.* You have hit upon the reason for our so doing. Do you think we intend to give up all wealth and power of the state to a set of demagogues? No, far from it. We, with other good men, cannot contemplate with calmness, the church being deemed a supernumerary. To stop the present current of education is impossible, but we have wisely resolved to divert it into many channels, by taking the superintendence of parish schools. Thus we tear the sting from the venomous reptile, and allow it to pursue its course harmlessly. We impart that knowledge which assists in the prostration of the will and the understanding, so necessary to make a religious and good character, and none of that which is falsely termed education by the philosophers.

*L.* I was willing formerly to give you and your brethren some credit for the exertions you were making for the improvement of the poor. But upon this account of your intentions I must frankly own to you, I cannot but look upon you and your brethren as enemies to mankind in every sense, as upholders of ignorance and consequently of vice and misery, and I heartily hope your efforts for keeping the people in darkness will be frustrated, and your sinister conduct seen through.

*K.* Your hopes will not be fulfilled. Your demoniacal schemes for universal education and enlightenment as you fantastically call them, partake too much of Utopia and anarchy ever to succeed. And be sure, while our excellent Church establishment remains, and while good and holy men are willing to undertake the pains and trouble of disseminating the knowledge and fear of a true God and of the Holy Scriptures, all your efforts to rouse the people to reflection will be unavailing. Thank God that the holy servants of his church are supported by too good a military power to be overturned by the diseased philosophy and vulgar radicalism of modern times. Good day to you wretched infidel, and mad enthusiast.

*L.* Good day to you, professor of ignorance and propagator of misery. But stop, before we part let me request you to pardon this poor disciple of Locke. Moreover, my reverend professor, you must recollect that imprisonment and persecution now, only more widely diffuse the opinions that you find obnoxious, and that you assist their progress by severity.

K. You are right, we must find some other means of imposing silence upon these upstart philosophers.

L. Nay, pardon me, but believe me, keep silence yourselves. Do not attempt to unite your doctrines with reason, since they will not endure its piercing glance. Become good men, be merciful, be just. Do not try to find evil where it is not, but endeavour to extinguish it from the face of the earth.

### TEN REASONS WHY TYTHES SHOULD BE ABOLISHED.

[Copied from a printed Paper sent from Beverly, in Yorkshire, by Mr. Dawson.]

#### I.

BECAUSE there are three learned Professions, two of which are left to seek subsistence and employ from their proper utility and industrious exertion; while the third, like a lazy drone, has an ample, yea, munificent recompense legally and effectually secured for little service, or for that which is much disregarded.

#### II.

Because it is well known, that in *France* and in *Scotland*, tythes are abolished, and in these countries, it is equally known, that the people are more moral, less vicious, more prosperous, more industrious, and less oppressed than the people of *England* and *Ireland*, where the curse of tythes exists.

#### III.

Because Tythes are not warranted by the New Testament, on which the Church of England founds its doctrine and discipline.

#### IV.

Because all classes of Dissenters in *England* and *Ireland*, at the same time they yield, *compulsorily*, Tythes to the Episcopalian Parson, are generally induced to contribute to the maintenance of the service of the Chapel they prefer to frequent: which is equal to paying double wages for a service, originally intended to be done for nothing.

#### V.

Because piety towards God and conscientious discharge of duty to man, are the direct and immediate results of Natural Religion or philosophic contemplation, which cost nothing.

#### VI.

Because no European Government trusts to moral principles as taught by Established Churches; but have compulsory laws to punish great and little crimes; which would generally be restrained, if education was directed on different principles than is generally practised.

#### VII.

Because the Church Lands are equivalent to maintain its Clergy without encroaching on the *Liberty and Industry* of a most deserving people; who, by various means, have a legal right to avoid Tythes, to which the Parson has no *Freehold Title*.

#### VIII.

Because, from the example of the *United States of America*, we know that an *Established Church* is not needful to the spiritual nor temporal welfare of a people.

## IX.

Because that from the Tythe Laws have sprung much suffering, persecution and ruin, among the people of England and Ireland: from which the people of France and Scotland are happily free.

## X.

Because, that from the discussion, enquiry and reasoning on the nature and origin of worship, which has taken place within the last thirty years, it appears that the word Toleration ought not to exist in our Law Books. That even the fundamental principles of what is called the Christian Dispensation are not grounded in *Truth*; and from its history, we have woeful experience that it has not produced the fruits inseparable from the Religion of Humanity. Moreover, from the increasing number of Dissenters and Unbelievers, it may naturally be inferred, that if the Church does not voluntarily give up Tythes, she will ultimately and must be *extinguished*.

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TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, 135, FLEET STREET, LONDON.

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SIR,

PERMIT an humble individual to congratulate you on your triumphant return to the Temple of Reason, Fleet Street. At the period of your committal to Dorchester Gaol, I was a sincere professor of Christianity and in common with most of my ardent brethren of the same persuasion, I rejoiced at your incarceration, and hoped that you might never more be doomed to breathe the air of liberty. An attentive course of reading, however, on the subjects at issue between you and your adversaries, determined me to embrace that cause for which you have so courageously suffered, and esteem you as one of the most useful and important members of society that has appeared since the days of Paine and Franklin. It is a cause indeed which must still expect to meet with the most virulent opposition from the deluded followers of Moses and Jesus, and to which none but characters decidedly disinterested, and overflowing with philanthropy can at present openly adhere; nor ought they to shrink or betray timidity in its support, when they behold the unexampled fortitude with which you have sustained an imprisonment of six years, and with no other recompense in view, but the satisfaction of promoting the great cause of truth and liberty. When Jesus and Peter were denounced as blasphemers by the Jews, the one equivocated in his reply to the charge, and the other thrice denied his master with oaths; the protestant apostle too, Cranmer, openly retracted the principles which he condemned in his heart, but you, sir, have risen superior to these fanatics, and have never more boldly proclaimed your principle than at the moment when perpetual imprisonment, worse than death itself, was the consequence which you might naturally have expected to be the result of your conduct.

But, sir, your exertions were never more urgently required than at the present period. The bloody persecutions and furious animosities and dissensions which have followed in the train of Christianity ever since its commencement received a powerful check in the last century by the effects of the fraternity of philosophers, and peace and unanimity appeared on the eve of being permanently established in Europe, but unfortunately the bayonets of Legitimacy were called into action, and by their means and under their protection the most ferocious sect of Christians, the Catholics, with their hordes of priests and monks, and their necessary attendants, the extinction of the Press and civil despotism, are overspreading the continent and making no inconsiderable progress even amongst ourselves. To check the



progress of this terrible foe to liberality and free discussion the *Protestant* Christians are deeply interested, as well as ourselves, but they vainly expect to effect this by converting the Catholics to their party, by railing at their superstitions, and deriding their doctrines of transubstantiation and absolution. The Catholics will remain immovable, and will reply—Why do you Protestants object to us as absurd the above mentioned doctrines, when you believe others which, to the eye of reason, are equally so? You deride us for believing, that, by the words of consecration, our priests can change a morsel of bread into the flesh of our God, yet you assert as the foundation of our common Christianity that the eternal invisible God was converted into a bit of flesh in the womb of a Virgin! you speak with horror of our absolution of sinners, yet in your Liturgy, your clergy openly lay claims to the privilege of absolving the sick man “from all his sins,” by authority committed to him by Jesus Christ himself, (*Visitation of Sick*). Such will be the issue of all controversies of Protestants with Catholics. On *Christian* grounds, the latter must finally triumph, and once more reduce our fine country under the abominable dominion of the Pope and his satellites. But let the infidel who rejects the Scriptures, and relies on the arms of reason and common sense alone, enter the field against the Catholic superstitions, immediate exposure and conviction of their absurdity and folly are the inevitable consequence, and the Catholic cause falls to the earth, and sinks into contempt. What Protestantism never could and never will effect, infidelity during the 18th century succeeded in, it almost extinguished Catholicism on the continent, and it only is able to extinguish that system, as a celebrated Divine of the Church of England has expressly acknowledged.\* It is to the infidel also, that the Christian is indebted for his most powerful arguments against the Catholic superstition. “STICK TO COMMON SENSE AGAINST ALL THE WORLD,” says Bishop Porteus in his *Confutation of Popery*, addressed to the diocese of Chester, and the free and unrestrained exercise of reason is boldly recommended by all protestant theologians when engaged in assailing the Pope and his mysteries. Had the good bishop made use of similar language when denouncing the Deists, it is very evident that the Christian Scriptures would long since have been classed in the same rank with the Fairy tales, the Koran and the Mass-book, and the bishop with his clerical brethren must have been compelled to resign their tithes, and equipages and lofty titles, and descend into the class of ordinary citizens to earn their livelihood by fair and honest exertions,—hence it is that when the Deists are to be attacked, nothing is heard from the Protestant advocates of Christianity, but the most virulent abuse of reason, and (to use a favourite expression of the present Bishop of London) the utter necessity of “*prostrating our understandings*” to the obedience of faith. Surely such scandalous double dealing, such palpable contradictions cannot be unknown to those learned Protestant Doctors, they must be conscious of their dishonesty in refusing to permit the Deists, to attack them with the same arms with which they triumph over the Catholics, and it can therefore be neither slander nor illiberality in us to assert that if they were truly conscientious and honourable characters, they would long since have imitated the example of their reverend brethren Bayle, Meslier, Tindal, Morgan, Palmer, Williams, Taylor, &c. and joined the ranks of the rationalists and philosophers. Such an event would indeed be highly serviceable to the genuine interests of the human race, but is scarcely to be expected from so bigoted and worldly-minded a class as the present race of Christian clergy; who

\* See two remarkable passages to this purpose in *The Present State of Evangelical Religion*, by the Rev. Dr. Haweis, Rector of Aldwinckle, &c. Published about the year 1809.

however furiously they may contend with each other respecting the superior importance of their respective dogmas, appear unanimous in opposing the progress of Deism and deluding or bribing its professors to the belief of their mysterious nonsense. But to what in reality do they wish to convert us? They may reply indeed to a belief in the divine origin of their Bible, but this is a mere subterfuge, for they know well that unless we add to this belief the adoption also of their theological tenets, we may as well remain infidels. Yet is there a single theological tenet in which these multifarious and eternally divided and dividing sects are agreed, I may safely affirm, not one. The most favorite tenet of one sect is sure to be denounced and anathematized by a dozen others with that rancour and venom so peculiar to the followers of Christ! In truth *they know not what to believe*, and to throw some light on so obscure and mystified a subject may perhaps have been one reason, which induced the head of the church, his most gracious and religious majesty King George IV. to order the translation and publication of the divine Milton's work on Christian Doctrine, which has just issued from the Press, in the Latin and English languages. But as the head of the Romish church is assuredly not infallible, so neither can the head of the English church lay any claim to the privilege of inerrancy, and if we may believe the orthodox theologian of the Quarterly Review, his Majesty's interference has only served to render confusion more confounded. "When we inform our readers (says the Reviewer) that the result of the whole work (of Milton) is a system of theology, not merely in discordance with the church of England, but with every sect by which we are divided; an incoherent and conflicting theory, which combines arianism, anabaptism, latitudinarianism, quakerism, and we know not what to add, on account of his opinions on polygamy, but Mahometanism: we anticipate much serious apprehension from the pious and devout; many will deprecate the appearance of a work so full, they will consider, of dangerous matter; and lament the liberality with which his Majesty decided on the publication of this treatise." (No. 64, Oct. 1825.) Such (if we may credit the Quarterly Reviewers) is the Christian religion according to John Milton, a hideous mass of absurdities! Yet Milton, as we are informed, prosecuted his inquiries with the most deliberate attention and impartiality. It is well known that the poet in his latter days rejected the service of the Christian ministry of every persuasion, and declined attending all public worship. He flourished when all sort of rational investigation into the truth of Christianity was strictly prohibited. Had his lot been cast in our days, to have beheld the flood of light shed on subjects connected with revealed religion, and the Scriptures,\* it is highly propable that so intrepid a REPUBLICAN, a title in which he gloried, would have been among the first to declare himself an advocate of your principles and a partaker of your fame. Believe me to be, Citizen, your sincere admirer,

Dec. 3, 1825.

BENEDICT NORTON.

\* I allude in particular to *A Critical Examination of the Four Gospels, and Letters to Dr. Adam Clarke, by John Clarke*, both sold at No. 135, Fleet Street. The latter very able and powerful work is the production of one of Mr. Carlile's shopmen, of whom four still linger in the dungeons of Newgate, to the disgrace of this protestant country!

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, 135, FLEET STREET, LONDON.

No. 6, Charlotte-Place, Kennington-lane, Vauxhall, London,  
5th December, 1825.

SIR,

I REG leave to congratulate you, though a stranger to me, on your liberation from Dorchester Gaol. A stranger to me I say, for I never saw you but twice that I know of, yet I have felt a great deal for you, more, indeed, I may say, than I ever felt for any other man in my life! It was your honesty, and the brutality of the ignorant, ferocious goaler, that caused me to feel so acutely. A gaol ought not to be a Paradise; but then reason should always guide the keepers, when they are opposed by nothing but good sense. A Gaol may be compared to a house where mad people are confined; and where reason, in some cases, is quite out of the question; but yours was not one of those cases; and I hope and trust, that if the Gaoler exceeded his orders to gratify his malignity, he may be dismissed instantly.

I have particularly observed, that, during your long and close confinement, you have always acted in a cheerful manner; but the sufferings that you have had to undergo, must have given great pain to all the readers of the Republican! and more especially to those who *think for themselves*, and who well know, that your punishment was unjust, unmeasured, and inflicted by unfeeling, ferocious men, in an outrageous, unpardonable manner! When you informed your readers, that you were confined twenty-three hours and a half out of every twenty-four hours of the day, and, that, you were obliged to ease nature, in the same room with your wife and sister. I cried out in my study, O! ferocious unfeeling monsters, on your beds of down! O! crafty inquisitors clothed in lamb-skins, with the most refined humanity on your lips; never talk about Christianity nor humanity in England, for you practice neither! Never talk, nor write *Plays* about the tyrannical conduct of the Spanish Inquisitors, for they are "*Heaven born Ministers*" to you! Never openly talk about the savages in Africa, for, in ferocity, they are not to be compared to you! and in future get bird-lime to close your *Serpentine* lips, to prevent you from boasting of any sort of freedom or mercy in this our *well beloved country*, while an honest, humane, *well-meaning* man, is receiving *more really severe* punishment, and inflicted in a more disgusting manner, than any punishment inflicted on any black-guard, thief, robber, or even murderer in the whole world! and inflicted too, for having performed his duty to his fellow-creatures to the best of his judgment. While those who really deserve to be punished, those who pretend that their blood is superior to ours, those real devils who are tormenters of the whole human race, ride off in a triumphant manner, grinning and laughing at their more sensible, feeling, harmless, but less powerful fellow creatures!

When I have reflected seriously in my room, I have often wondered and been much vexed at the ingratitude of the people, perhaps not wilful but *thoughtless* ingratitude, to allow a man to be confined such a long time, over his sentence, for fifteen hundred pounds; this paltry sum to thousands in good circumstances, to say nothing at all about the whole nation! But perhaps if we take all the circumstances into our consideration, we shall be convinced, that, had your fine been paid, by a few persons, or by the nation, every thing connected with your case, would have presented a different appearance to what it does now. Every thing would have been more gloomy, more thunder-cloud-like, more heart-breaking; we should have stood trembling before our tyrants, like tamed children, with the inattentive cap



on, placed in one corner of the school-room! I, for my part, have been afraid to put my pen on the paper, positively afraid, because when I write I am determined to make an impression; to stamp on the mind that which shall not be easily erased; to finish every thing in a workman-like manner. I am disgusted when I read the "*Education*" milk and water stuff! When I have to read a thing two or three times over to get at the writer's meaning, I throw the thing down in disgust; or, if I should not do that, I may put a wrong construction on the meaning of the writer, and nothing can be worse than that. Let us all understand what we read! Make every sentence as clear as the pebbled brook; then we are sure not to make any mistake. This being the case, I shall endeavour to use words which are constantly used in common conversation; and to place them in the best manner that I am able. To know how to write well is a super-excellent thing. It loosens the tongue; gives unbounded power; changes the face of every thing; causes profound reflection on human nature; shows us that, if God has made a difference in the blood of human beings, the higher the blood is the greater the ignorance!

You have proved to this nation by your long confinement, that a man of good spirit and good understanding cannot be put down by any punishment short of death. But a man may have a good understanding, that is to say, he may believe that his understanding is good, yet his ideas may be all erroneous: if they be erroneous, he should not be punished; because *he is convinced in his own mind, that he is right*; and that every opponent is wrong; therefore the most trivial punishment should not be inflicted on him, till every just, fair and honourable argument has been used to convince him that he is wrong; and even then, after every just argument has been used, he should not be punished for mere matter of opinion.

This being the case, I beg leave to challenge you, Mr. Carlile, to fight me with a goose quill, till one of us be fairly driven out of the field. I advocate for religion and you against religion. This fight, or engagement, must be carried on in an honourable manner on both sides: indeed, I believe that you have nothing dishonourable in you. You have never had a fair opponent; never had one to give you the *why* and the *wherefore*. I shall give you both; and, in language that you shall clearly understand.

Now, then, Sir, I begin; but I am almost afraid, because I may be laughed at, for attempting to cope against you who have studied so long and written very ably in support of Materialism against Religion. And another very great advantage you have on your side, I am prejudiced against so many religions: that is to say, I am prejudiced against so much fanaticism; so many outward forms and ceremonies of persons who *really believe* that they are religious; and another thing you have on your side too, I am now a Christian, and, of course, do not believe in a great number of *very necessary fooleries*: but I must believe in them and so must you, and go back to Paganism too, or at any rate we must hold our tongues. After we have fought our religious battle, I will discuss the great advantage and benefit of a kingly government in England over that of a republican form.

Now, Mr. Carlile, what is the meaning of the word religion? That we are to worship God in spirit and in truth, very sublime precepts, and to act justly to all our neighbours. You say that there is no God, nor Spirit! You are not sure of that, neither am I; but for argument's sake, and to prevent all misunderstanding, you shall have your own way. Here you see I retreat a little; you are driving me before you; but I shall presently arrive in a good position, then I make a firm stand against all your superior force;

and if you do not play your cannon well, I shall drive you back in a panic and finally overthrow you.

You say that all religion is vice ! This is an error on your part, because to act justly to all our neighbours (which means every body) cannot be construed to mean any thing vicious. Vice is not a companion of religion, nor never was, nor never can be ! When a man kneels himself down to say his prayers, he believes that he is doing good. He prays to God, who you say is a Phantom ; but I shall presently show that it is a *very necessary Phantom*, to forgive him his sins. He has done that which troubles his mind, which makes him feel uneasy, he cannot rest till he has asked pardon, and this prevents a repetition of the same sin !

Religion has brought us to what we are ! We should have remained in our original uncultivated savage state, but for religion ! How would you begin to civilize a savage black African being, called man ? Have the goodness to answer this question.

I will acknowledge that there are thousands of very wicked, almost unpardonable acts, committed by man under a cloak of religion ; but, still, I say that those acts have nothing to do with religion itself. Religion means goodness, to soften men's ferocious hearts, to make them humane beings. And if a man committed a wicked act under a cloak of religion, I would pardon him, unless it could be proved to the satisfaction of all, that he acted bad *wilfully*. Our minds are very narrow. We cannot see far ; then, is it not impossible, impossible I say, for a great many very intelligent men, to foresee the *final effects* of their religious actions. A religious act, like a political act, may be very good to day, and in a short time it may be very bad. If every political writer in England at this time, and we have some very able gentlemen, could always foresee the effects of his writings on the people, or even tendency towards the effects, he would never have any occasion to retrace his steps ! The same thing holds good to a government, if the members of it were able to tell how their actions would ultimately affect the nation, human wisdom would then have arrived at the highest state of perfection.

A gentleman ought never to be a member of any government, till he has reflected sufficiently to convince himself, that religion is only true in politics ! This, and this only, is what he must look at. A thing may be notoriously false in fact, but still perfectly true in politics ; and I will now endeavour to convince you of this truth.

But, stop a minute ; you have read of Mr. Canning and the Attorney-General, giving dinners and so on, on a Sunday ! This is political, and a very good political act too. It prevents many a poor man from being prosecuted, for selling a penny's worth of greens on a Sunday ; and it would prevent more if the editor of every paper would call on the magistrates to go and punish these two gentlemen, instead of punishing a poor man.

Now I will endeavour to convince you that religion is true in politics ; and that we can never do without it.

When I look at and reflect on all the various sorts of human beings around me, I am perfectly satisfied that the *thoughtlessness* of a great many of the people, their *ignorance*, their *credulity*, their *falseness*, their *ingratitude*, their disposition to drink till they are *senseless*, then their *ferociousness*, will always require something of a *sublime or mysterious nature*, *past finding out*, to guide them in the paths of virtue, for their own good and for the good of society generally.

You will acknowledge, I dare say, that the dispositions of men are as various and contradictory, as the tempers are of all four-legged animals ;

and some of these are more *crafty* than human beings. Now I will class them with, or compare them to, the four-legged animals.

There are the foxes, though small animals, they must come first, because they are so exceeding crafty, so full of deception, naturally cunning, and the only animals capable to rule the whole. Then there are the lions, the tigers, the bears, and the wolves of the savage tribe. The camels, the mules, the asses, and the hogs of the stupid tribe. The horses, the bulls, the dogs, and the cats of the cunning tribe. The sheep and the hares of the harmless tribe. The rats exceeding crafty next to the fox, and the mice of the troublesome tribe. The frogs of the neuter tribe, and the toads of the venomous tribe. Then there are all the she's of these different tribes, in which we may find the noisy goose and the quackling duck!

What would you do with all these creatures without religion? How would you guide them along and keep them together? The government has the charge of all this medley of beings, and it is forced to keep them together! Are they to be instructed in any thing to make them sensitive beings, and, if they are, in what way, and are the instructors to be paid? Have the goodness to give answers to these questions, and also to the following if you please.

How would you bring them, or cause them to assemble together in a room, or a church, I will say? If you were to propose that the lions should sit in the same place with the toads, what would the lions do? They would smack their tails against their sides, scrape the earth up with their feet, and be ready with the tigers, the bears and the wolves, to devour you in a minute! But place a most odious frightful cloven-footed black devil with long claws before them, then you have them under your command; more especially if his satahic majesty be placed grinning in a savage ferocious manner, in the middle of a great blazing hell fire, then they will drop their tails between their legs, go down on their marrow bones in an humble position, remain in that state trembling like the leaves on a weeping willow; there ferocity is banished in an instant; you may take them by the nose and lead them where and how you like. Their hairy purse-strings fly open in the twinkling of an eye, for you to take out what money you please to make the whole comfortable and happy.

Religion gives ease to my heart,  
When it pants in my bosom with fear;  
When a false and a Hellish Tongue's dart,  
Has given me a sly stab in my ear!  
I cried out, why did you do that?  
And instantly gazed the world round;  
When a great and a false human rat,  
Was destroying my name under ground!\*  
Ha! said I, Devils come down,  
And catch plenty of imps on your way;  
For look where we may all around  
Deception and fraud bears the sway!

I have now given you the why and the wherefore; and shall wait for your answer.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL HARDMAN.

Late Adjutant of the 10th Royal Hussars.

\* Backbiting.



## NOTE TO MR. HARDMAN'S LETTER BY R. CARLILE.

MR. HARDMAN'S first position is, that religion is not vice; because, "to act justly to all our neighbours cannot be construed to mean any thing vicious." What has acting justly toward our neighbours to do with religion? Nothing whatever; nor has it any relation to religion. It is a matter of morality, to which all alike assent as good. It is not because a system of error and vice, such as religion is, has surrounded its hideous form with a few moral sentences, that such sentences are to be identified with religion. It is an error in the association of words and ideas on the part of Mr. Hardman to say that acting justly toward our neighbours is an act of religion. I could find him Scripture authority to shew that to act unjustly toward our neighbours is an act of religion, an act enjoined by those Scriptures. If we are to rest on assertions of this kind, we shall conclude nothing. I assert that religion is a vice from the premises of its being founded in error and in many instances founded on wilful falsehood, a circumstance which Mr. Hardman, toward the conclusion of his letter, seems to approve, for the rule of the multitude, an approbation which, in my view, goes directly to countenance every piece of tyranny and villany practised over that multitude. Deception can only be justified by deception, tyranny by tyranny, villany by villany. The doctrine of doing evil that good may come is an immoral doctrine that paves the way to an excuse for every kind of evil. A theoretical line between morality and immorality cannot be drawn; but morality justifies nothing that begins with evil to any individual. Nor does the good of the many require the evil of the few as a common principle, nor in any other shape than as the exception to the general rule. If the few are to rule the many as a matter of deception, there will be many among that many, as shrewd as the few, and here at once we have a source of bad feeling, a source of immorality, a proof in Mr. Hardman's words that religion is vice.

I find other inferences that religion is vicious. It is expensive. It consumes without adding any thing to property. It taxes both the time and the produce of the labouring man. If he be a thinking man, it makes him miserable until he has thought himself out of it. If he be not a thinking man, he is not a subject for consideration or comparison higher than any other irrational animal. If he thinks, he must doubt; if he neither thinks nor doubts, he deserves not even the distinction of being a religious man. He can be, religiously, nothing more than the instrument of some priest. If Mr. Hardman desires a state of things of this kind, it but ill consorts with human improvement.

Mr. Hardman says, that vice is not the companion of religion—never was, never will be. He could not have made this assertion

with a clear definition of religion. Has there been no vice in the Spanish Inquisition—no vice in the religion of Ireland—no vice in Christendom, which has professed to make religion its primary law? Still Mr. Hardman says, the vice of religion is not religion itself. If produced by religion, a fact on which I insist, the religion is the vice. Religion is, altogether, in its most refined state, a creature of the imagination: that imagination has no realities on which it can rest; and resting on no realities, it has all the vice of falsehood, deceit, and delusion, superadded to its property of superseding more virtuous actions, of being of great expence, a great waste of time, and a great disturber of individuals, and of communities. It is a vice in its property of excluding useful knowledge—of depraving the human mind—of injuring the health, and shutting out the happiness of mankind. A truly religious man has scarcely a capacity to think of any thing but religion.

“Religion has brought us to what we are,” says Mr. Hardman. And what are we? In what is the mass of the people of this country superior to the cattle of the field? Nay, how much are they inferior, in every relation to happiness? But here comes the point—he asks how we would civilize a black African being called man without religion. We would teach him the use of letters and figures—we would teach him the mechanic arts, and all arts and sciences—we would teach him morality, or the right of person and property, and this would be civilization—this would be the true civilization—this alone would improve his condition. Teach him religion and you make a mad or melancholy fool of a simple and cheerful minded man.

Throughout his piece, Mr. Hardman has mis-named morality by calling it religion. Let him call his goodness morality and we agree. Let him see that religion has no relation from man toward man, and we agree. He has not examined the subject on which he has written: he has mixed up the qualities of one principle under the name of another, and thus is in error throughout.

The Machiavelian doctrine, that religion, though false as to fact, may be true in politics, has my avowed contempt. I am surprised at such a doctrine from Mr. Hardman, who, at least, has been so much of a Reformer as to support Reformers. Such an excuse for error would lead to a justification of all the errors that are thrust upon mankind. The good government and good order of the people require no such tricks as Mr. Hardman has here represented to be necessary. They are to be made happy only by being fairly dealt with by those who have power over them.

From the late charge of the present Bishop of Bath and Wells, to the clergy of his diocese, I lately extracted a similar sentiment to this of Mr. Hardman's. The Bishop says:—“A wise government will not desert the church, whilst the church remains true to

itself. A free government cannot subsist without religion, nor religion without a clergy." Here the matter at issue is laid down as dogmatically, as if it were a settled question as to what constitutes a church and what constitutes religion. The inference of the statement is, that a wise and free government will always have a church, a religion and a clergy. Mr. Hardman has attempted to shew some reasons for his conclusions; but the Bishop has shewn none. I make the contrary assertion, that a government can neither be wise nor free which is associated with a church, a religion, and a clergy, and I find sound premises for my inference, in the proof, that no kind of religion is founded on facts, that it teaches nothing useful to be known, that it is a source of dissension, and that it is a great tax upon all who are subject to it. If the people be ignorant, what has kept them ignorant? They have never wanted religious instruction. If they be ignorant, give them useful knowledge. If credulous, teach them to be sceptical by resting on nothing but that which is supported by analogical or demonstrative proofs. And to whom can a people be ungrateful? How can *sublime mysteries past finding out* guide them to the paths of virtue? Mr. Hardman has not examined his subject deeply enough. He draws inferences from the most shallow premises.

Had not this piece of Mr. Hardman's come to me in the shape of a challenge, I should not have thought it worth an insertion. It is awkward to shrink from any kind of challenge by persons who evidently have not examined fairly the subject on which they write. What do we find in Mr. Hardman's piece, to shew that religion is true or useful in politics? He closes his scene by bringing forth a terrific phantom, as a necessary principle to alarm the various tempers of mankind into a state of quiescence. But what will he say now that he sees the majority of the people of this island too well instructed to be alarmed by such a phantom, such a creature of the imagination? And why should one man be terrified into a passive state of being more than another? Let Mr. Hardman say who have a just right to be governors and priests, if such a government be necessary, and whether a people left to delegate their own authorities would delegate such authorities?

If this be the only defence of religion, I pity those who support it. And I detest the hypocrisy that imposes on another for a fact, that which the proposer knows to be a fable. This is tyranny and vice in its worst sense. If Mr. Hardman cannot publicly express his true sentiments, he had better be silent: he is not in a situation to be a challenger about opinions, nor to be an instructor of the public. Because a man can write, it is no reason that he must write. Wishing to be careful as to the matter with which I fill the Republican in future, I shall set my face against all pieces, even challenges, that are not well and respectably written.

RICHARD CARLILE.



TO MR. R. CARLILE, FLEET-STREET, LONDON.

Toutes les fois vous donnerez un *sauf conduit* à la Verité, elle vous Arruera.—MERILHON.

SIR,

Paris, December, 1825.

THE Society here, for the cognizance of the General State of Civil and Religious Liberty, desire to offer you their congratulations on regaining your freedom.

To you, praise is due, for your patient endurance of unjust and impolitic persecution: while your enemies may confess, with hope, that, to you, England owes more for future peace and surety, than to any other man alive.

By your efforts, the Throne is more solid beneath the King—estates more confirmed to the Nobility, while the Commonalty have better hope to increased enjoyment from the abolition of Tythes.

In this regard, the Society beseech you to be temperate, not puffed up, but to continue by moral and reasonable, yet choice publications, to inform the rising generation: and in that respect they farther beseech you to make as much as possible subservient to the Lancasterian system of instruction.

When the travelling Secretary of the Society arrives in London, he will be furnished with such works as may be useful to you. In the meantime, they request you to search for a pamphlet published about one hundred years ago, entitled the "Quaker's Pleas against Tythes." It is probable, if you have it not, that Mr. Hone or Dr. John Walker, may point out to you where a copy may be found.

The enclosed paper on that subject, published by them, has, by various means, been forwarded to you; but fearing their non-arrival a copy is now sent.\*

Wishing you health and prosperity, I subscribe myself  
(by order) Your obedient Servant, LE CLERC (*Afè*).

P. S. From myself, I have to observe, that I rejoice to know London has the prospect of an University. Here, at Paris, instruction is general, and generally gratuitous. In this respect the Government is liberal.

I hope, to this University, London will have near it, as here, a Garden of Plants, and a Museum. That garden, with its museum, is the true authentic Holy Bible. It has God for its Author; instruction for its intention; and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter. The works of Creation there displayed inspire piety, fill the mind with admiration, and, at the same time, afford an endless subject of contemplation and useful study.

\* No copy of this kind has reached me.—R. C.

*Written by Lord Hervey and to be found  
in Vol. II. p. 109 of The Pillars of Priestcraft  
Shaken, Ed. of 1768.*

MR. RICHARD CARLILE, 135, FLEET STREET.

DEAR SIR,

Dec. 9, 1825.\*

I HEAR, with pleasure, that you are no longer within the walls of the English Bastille, but returned to, or shortly expected in town; and, although as yet an entire stranger to your person, I cannot let pass this opportunity of tendering you my warmest thanks, not only for your good intentions, which even your opponents must admit, but also for your very eminent public services in the cause of liberty and truth.

In my opinion, as I believe you are in that of most people who think at all, you appear to be one of the most injured of mankind, and, as such, I beg leave to congratulate you, most sincerely, on your return in health, to your family, your friends, and your home, after your long, and, in the end, successful struggle against tyranny of the basest and most detestable kind.

During your unjust and infamous imprisonment, thousands admired, but no one, I assure you, more than myself, the undaunted firmness with which you sustained your sufferings and supported your opinion. The constancy of your endeavours to establish, and, as yet, with success, the liberty of the press, and freedom of discussion—the courage and address you have evinced, on all occasions, in opposing despotism, even till the monster became exhausted by her own exertions, looked wildly around for a moment in despair, deserted her prey, and shrunk from the contest. She is now taking breath, but whether she means, like a cowardly assassin, when a little restored, to attack you again, is not so easy to determine; yet it is not unlikely, as despair, brought on by disappointment, is apt to degenerate into madness, and lest that should be the case, in the present instance, you will do well not to be entirely off your guard, but rather assume a posture of defence.

The eclat of the example which you have set the world for courage and perseverance in a good cause, has already, I am convinced, infused a germ in the minds of our young countrymen, that will, ere long, cause hundreds of Carliles to spring up, who, by opposition, will become an Hydra, if I may be allowed such a metaphor on such an occasion, that no Priestcraft, nor any other craft, will be able hereafter to destroy: but will flourish, as you have done, by opposition. The more they are opposed, in such a cause, the more will their numbers and resolution increase. Witness the young men in Newgate, Messrs. Campion and friends, Editors of the Magazine, and elsewhere, already; all sprung, in so short a time, from one single root; and that the like feeling, that has pervaded them, may speedily become ge-

neral, is the constant wish, and fervent prayer of, dear Sir, your very sincere friend and admirer,

C. W. HARRIS.

P. S. You are, beyond a doubt, as yet, the bravest of the brave.

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TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, LONDON.

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DEAR SIR,

• Bristol, Dec. 12th, 1825.

WITH very great pleasure, I have to inform you, that a large party of your *true friends*, dined together a few days since to congratulate you most heartily on your liberation, and on your triumph over your Christian persecutors, weak and silly enemies, to wish you every success in your future career of life, and farther to express their high sense of approbation, for the noble and spirited conduct which you have so ably displayed while so basely incarcerated by an English Inquisition in a Bastile.

The meeting, Sir, was formed on the present occasion for the above named purpose; but it is intended for the future to hold an anniversary on the 18th of November, as the day of your liberation, and I believe also of your first entering that prison, from whence emanated the only Free Press during your term of confinement, a period to be hailed with true joy and triumph by all friends of freedom to independence and happiness.

A general wish, Sir, also prevailed that as early a period as convenient you would make a visit among us, and as I feel confident that you will do so, I can only add that to no part of the country can your talent be so usefully directed as where *bigotry, hypocrisy, ignorance and selfishness* prevail to the utmost extent.

The meeting afforded the greatest gratification to all the party, which broke up at an early hour, regretting however that not one fire shovel hat gentleman was present to communicate to his gang that a large party of Materialists could meet, discuss morality, and depart without that noise and confusion that generally prevails at their Bible and Missionary meetings.

I have selected the subjoined Toasts and Sentiments given on the occasion, to show our friends, in all parts of the country, that how ever we may be deficient in number, we endeavour to compensate for it, by soundness of principle.

Mr. Richard Carlile, the honest and noble advocate of the people and their rights.

The Printing Press, may it continue to be free, and flourish under such an able Champion as Mr. Richard Carlile.

The immortal memory of Thomas Paine, author of the Rights of Man, Common Sense, &c. with reformation to his Calumniators.

The immortal memory of Elihu Palmer, author of the Principles of Nature. (Given by a worthy and veteran friend who was personally acquainted with him.)

The brave Prisoners in Newgate, William Champion, Richard Hassel,



Thomas Riley Perry, and John Clarke, may they be speedily released, and all Mr. Carlile's assistants, who have suffered in the noble struggle for Religious Freedom.

The Joint Stock Book Company, with its supporters, and may the volumes it sends forth speedily displace the Jew Books or Bible.

Mrs. Carlile, may she never forsake the good cause for which she has been so vilely persecuted.

Miss Mary Ann Carlile, may she ever continue in the principles she so ably advocated.

The Females of Great Britain, may they all speedily become Materialists.

The American form of Government.

Total Annihilation to the *Black Slugs*, that devour the seventh part of the produce of the land.

The Pen Knife that deprived the Country of a Tyrant.

Mr. William Cobbett, every possible praise for his great exertions and success against the paper money system; may he speedily be honest enough to acknowledge his error in advocating religion, and follow Mr. Richard Carlile in the true path to human happiness.

The American Editor of Thomas Paine's Age of Reason.—Colonel Fellows.

Jeremy Bentham, Esq.

Dr. Kentish, the tried Friend of the People and of Religious and Political Liberty.

Mr. Sampson Mackey.

The immortal memories of Mirabaud, Volney and Voltaire were severally drunk.

May Men of Science be honest, and cease to support Religious Superstition in opposition to their own better knowledge.

May Materialists rapidly increase and every sect in Religion disappear.

May the Image of the immortal Thomas Paine haunt the imaginations of Kings and Courtiers, till they acknowledge the goodness of his writings.

The Stones of the Churches, Chapels, and Meeting Houses in the highways; the Parsons, and Soldiers breaking them; Mr. R. Carlile their General Surveyor for twelve months, and only what they earn for them to eat.

The Majesty of the People, the only true Majesty.

These, Sir, contain the sentiments of the party assembled to a man and though composed of able and respectable men, I greatly regret a certain part of the proceeding, I mean privacy, for had such a meeting been held in a public room a loss of licence would have been sure to follow, and possibly ruin to a worthy family; even in a private one many whose good wishes were with us were prevented by fear from attending, lest their bread now so hardly earned should be wrenched from them by their ignorant and narrow-minded employers, though in every way worthy and respectable as tradesmen. As it was, I make not the least doubt, had our retreat been known, it would have been broken in on by some *Drunken Magistrate*, as was the case lately when some young people were innocently amusing themselves with a dance.

I doubt not but the next meeting will be an open one, as I trust, by that time, the *petty power* of local despotism will be crushed, and, consequently, fear unknown.

Your friend, Mr. Green, was present with a party of his friends, and desires that his name may not be kept secret.

I remain, dear Sir, with the greatest respect for self and friends,  
yours, ever truly,

B. HART.

#### SUBSCRIPTIONS.

|                                                | £. | s. | d. |                                                    | £. | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|----------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| Mr. J. D. Dawson, of Beverley, Yorkshire . . . | 2  | 0  | 0  | A disciple of John Wesley converted to Materialism | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| A Friend . . . . .                             | 2  | 2  | 0  | Mr. Pratt, for the men in Newgate . . . . .        | 0  | 3  | 0  |
| W. J. for Oct. and Nov. . .                    | 0  | 4  | 0  |                                                    |    |    |    |
| Ditto for W. Champion . .                      | 0  | 2  | 0  |                                                    |    |    |    |

HAVING arrived in London, I beg leave, most sincerely, to thank all those persons who have supported me by their subscriptions during my imprisonment. To them, I owe the advantages which I have gained during the last six years, and toward them, I feel the due measure of gratitude. But grateful as I am, and as I ought to be, for the past, I feel it to be a duty to say, that I hope no new subscriptions will be opened for me so long as I am at liberty to strive for myself. The men in Newgate, Hassell, Perry, Clarke and Champion, are deserving of whatever support can be given to them in the way of subscription, so long as they remain prisoners. Jeffries is liberated, and will be able to support himself.

Useful as these subscriptions are, when a man is struggling with oppression or disaster, they cease to be useful, they become mischievous, when sought and obtained by men who are free to support themselves by labour. For myself, I can say, that I had rather be left to make a fortune by my own bodily and mental labour, than to have one given to me.

Subscriptions to the Joint Stock Book Company, either in hundred pounds, or in any aliquot part of a hundred, of or above five pounds, are now the desirable thing. And it will be also necessary to have them before the first of January, where the subscriber wishes to partake of the benefits of the concern from the commencement, or in the first quarter. Benefits there certainly will be, and they will be greatest at the onset; because we shall first print books that have never before been printed in this country, I entertain not a doubt of the success of this thing, and I will stake my reputation on its well being, so long as it adheres to the prospectus.

RICHARD CARLILE.

*Printing Office, Dec. 13.*

NOTICE.—Country Agents are desired not to remit country bank notes, as we cannot be responsible for them amid the present crash of banks and wreck of paper money,

R. C.

## TO THE EDITOR OF "THE REPUBLICAN."

*On the Great Check given to Learning and Science, by the Introduction of Christianity.*

FROM the days of Homer, who flourished upwards of 700 years before the Christian era, to the time of the Roman Emperor Constantine, in the 4th century, when Christianity became general in Europe, we find a long list of enlightened philosophers, historians, moralists, poets, and men generally eminent for their learning and abilities. From the days of Constantine, to the discovery of the Art of Printing, in the 15th century, learning was very much, nay, almost entirely neglected. A thousand years passed away, without producing a single person, at all eminent in any description of literature: but soon after the printing-press was established, there sprung up in Europe, a host of the most eminent men, in every department of philosophy and letters; which have been succeeded to the present day. This being the case, as unquestionably it is, we naturally look about, for a *cause* of the general ignorance that prevailed between the 4th and the 15th centuries. It cannot be supposed that nature withheld from man, during that long period, the same degree of mental capacity and intellect, which she bestowed upon preceding and subsequent generations, and we are constrained to look for some external cause, which produced those "dark ages" of mankind, after they had been surrounded with philosophy, arts and sciences.

Before the establishment of Christianity by Constantine, the minds of men were less shackled by a religious and superstitious education, than under the Christian dispensation. The Romans and Grecians, as is abundantly evident from their histories, cultivated learning and the sciences more than religious dogmas and creeds. Religion and religious sects seem to have been rather tolerated than enforced; while men of real learning and genius never failed to meet with countenance and support. But when Christianity had gotten a solid footing, it acted like a canker worm to every thing rational and useful among mankind. Learning was disregarded, if not discouraged, as having a tendency to draw mens' minds to an affection for temporal things, rather than for "spiritual." The religion of Jesus taught men to pay no attention to the affairs of this world, not even so much as to food and raiment. The doctrines of "Take no thought for to-morrow," and "the wisdom of this world, is foolishness in the sight of the Lord," are found amongst the *wise* maxims of the Gospel. No wonder then that such *precious* doctrines, when embraced by men in power, should in a few generations, reduce mankind to a state of ignorance and superstition. Philosophers, Moralists, and



Historians, were superseded by Bishops, Friars, and Monks, and the latter found out the art of enriching themselves at the expence of the people; by persuading them to bestow the most abject veneration on the relics of those, who by the most frantic and incoherent preaching, or acting, when alive, had acquired the appellation of saints. These they sold to the people at extravagant prices, and persuaded them, when on their death-beds, to leave their possessions for *pious* purposes, in other words, to give them to the priesthood, who revelled upon them in the grossest luxury, debauchery and indolence. The truth of this is abundantly testified by Dr. Mosheim and most other writers on ecclesiastical history. At length, however, the printing press came forth like the bright sun, to disperse the mist that so long had obscured the mind of man. The writings of the most eminent among the ancient Greek and Latin authors were laid before the public in large editions; so that learning might now be acquired at a comparatively cheap rate. This state of things soon produced a host of literati in Christendom, and wherever the influence of that mighty engine has extended learning has gotten too firm a hold among mankind to be again rooted out by a priesthood, whose policy has at all times been, to keep mankind in a state of superstitious ignorance. The "Mechanics' Institutions" are a still further powerful means of distributing useful knowledge among the operatives of the country.

You, too, Mr. Carlile, though last, are not the least in promoting this good work. You have, after a struggle of 6 or 8 years, obtained a complete victory over your enemies, who were also the enemies of every description of useful knowledge. You have established FREE DISCUSSION in Britain, so that, hence forward, we need not look to the universities, as the only seminaries of science. We may now look forward for the brightest ornaments of the Senate, the Bar, and the Stage, to rise from among our Mechanics. As to the pulpit, I hope and expect, that, ere long, it will be filled for very different purposes, than to preach to the people the most stupid, extravagant, absurd and immoral doctrines, that ever disgraced any age or nation.

December 5th, 1825.

I. G.

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#### PAINE'S BIRTH DAY.

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VARIOUS suggestions about a public dinner to congratulate me on the end of my imprisonment have been made; but I have entertained all friends who have made such suggestions, to defer it until the Anniversary of Mr. Paine's Birth-day, to make but one dinner, and that in the best manner of doing those things. Further and early notice as to place, price of tickets, &c. will be given.

R. C.

## LONDON.

Its atmosphere has, in the last week, been, to me, almost as cruel a punishment, as a whipping in Dorchester Gaol would have been. Pleasant, horrid London! What a strange mixture of the most agreeable and most disagreeable beings we meet! What beauty in its shops—what filth in its alleys and in its streets! It is the emporium of knowledge and of ignorance—of health and of disease—of good and of bad habits—of virtue and of vice—of human beauty and of human ugliness. There is something higher, and something lower, in the mankind of London, than in that of any other part of the country. Here we see splendour exhausted on person, dwelling and equipage illustrated by a contact with the extreme of rags, filth, and disease. There we perceive a commercial intercourse, on which the means of subsistence to millions depend, yesterday calm and steady, to-day in a state of ebullition. A bank breaks—banks are breaking and will all break, and affluent thousands feel themselves reduced to a state of beggary. London is a mixture of substance and froth; mixed with some, with some separate. Some are all substance—some all froth. All is in a state of fermentation. Property changes hands here more rapidly than in any other part of the country. The capitalist of yesterday is a pauper or a suicide to-day.

A contempt for religion shews itself powerfully, as a prominent feature among the thinking part of London's people, while religion thrives with its filth and its ignorance, and almost every alley has its religious congregation. But a great general change has taken place throughout the country on this head. It is now a *part and parcel of the Common Law of the Land*, that religion is not defensible and is properly assaulted as a vice! Admirable change! Why does not the Vice Society change and assist me in the assault upon the vice of religion?

I do not feel at home in London; but I feel as if I had neither house nor shop. The disconnection of shop, dwelling, and printing-office, makes business irksome and strange, and I must ask pardon for a few weeks, until this can be mended, for any little neglects that may occur.

On Tuesday evening, I attended, as privately as possible, the meeting of the Christian Evidence Society, at the Paul's Head, Cateaton-street. It is calculated to do much good, if well managed, and, at once, I make a call upon it to allow the most free discussion. Until this be announced, I feel, that I ought not to take any public part in it. The doctrine of materialism against spiritualism has hitherto been excluded. This is my peculiar

doctrine, and I ought not to give aid to any thing below it. To gain this point would greatly shorten the discussions, and they are now extended with nonsense to wearisomeness. Free discussion produces the most mild discussions, for, with it, personal invective is not felt to be a useful weapon.

I have shaken hands with many friends ; but many have called to see me while absent, and time has not permitted me to call upon many upon whom I wish, and feel it a duty, to call. I will meet any person at appointment, and, in other respects, I ask credit for a short time for the best and most grateful disposition toward all who have assisted me during my imprisonment.

RICHARD CARLILE.

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### MONEY MARKET, BANKING SYSTEM, STOCKS, PUBLIC CREDIT, &c.

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ON the above heads, all is consternation in London among those who are connected with them. It is high time, that the present banking and funding systems were broken up, and while there is a desperate run against them, it is the duty of every public writer to heighten the panic with a view to put a stop to this sort of public mischief. Country bank notes in London are not considered to be worth their weight in other waste paper. London Banks have gone within the last few days whose strength was doubted by but few, if any. Not one of them ought to be trusted another day upon the present system of credit and paper money. No bank can stand a fair run under this system, and though many get propped by artificial means, all must eventually sink. The present seems to be the best possible season to break up the system, and lamentable as will be the affair to thousands, or millions, it will be less so now, than at any future time. There is no security in depositing property in any of the existing money establishments.

R. C.

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TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, 135, FLEET-STREET.

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SIR,

Most respectfully do I present my sincere congratulations on your liberation from a long and unjust imprisonment, and from the hands of those who wanted but little encouragement to have become your assassins. Such is Christianity and boasted British justice ! An imprisonment from which you have come forth pure as refined gold from the crucible ; with a character singularly honourable, just and unimpeachable ; gloriously established on the firm basis of fortitude, perseverance, and integrity ; which no enemy can behold with indifference, nor without feelings of envy, fear, shame, and regret ; and which every friend must contemplate with the highest approbation, satisfaction, confidence,



and esteem, as an undeniable security and promise of future honour, worth, and moral rectitude. Speaking as I am, looks very like flattering a man to his face, which some do not approve of, and which too generally borders on design or meanness. I am at your mercy; but I have reasons for paying my respectful compliments, and for not carrying them farther in the present instance. Your case is before the world written in deeds to which no language of mine can do justice, and which will never suffer you to fall into either oblivion or contempt, as has been prophesied by one of the second-sight seers of the infallible, doughty, dogmatic journals, *THE NEWS*! To whom, with your permission, Shebago intends to address a few complimentary lines on his uncommon candour and newly assumed decided character, and no less on his charity, good language, and uncommon foresight. You are, Sir, standing thus, and such is your case. I am going, but with diffidence and respect, to lay my case before you. And I feel ashamed, and almost afraid to reveal even to yourself the miserable secret—that you have had a *Greenwich Collegeman* for a *Correspondent* in the ardent but forlorn *Shebago*. I have been for some time an inmate of this building, hopeless distress drove me here, where I have nothing except a bare sustenance, without liberty, and in constant danger of losing even that, and gaining a cell in Hoxton. Judge, then, how gladly I would accept of a change—how anxiously I wish for it, were I only to obtain a subsistence without the fear of a mad-house before my eyes. Any one of the letters of *Shebago* would obtain me that indulgence, as they have just enough of that kind of sense and spirit which would most assuredly gain their author the unqualified character of confirmed madness:—A term that I have more than once known to be substituted for and confounded with sense and reason. The purport, then, of the latter part of this letter is simply to inquire, if you can any way find me an employment where I can be useful to you and maintain myself. I would esteem it a blessing, and believe me I am neither ambitious nor avaricious. A very trifle would render me happy, and removing me out of this would grant me content. I write to you with a confidence and hope not common in my correspondence with my betters. Whatever way you may decide, I shall ever remain the same in mind. I must beg pardon for troubling you with any concern of mine and taking up so much of your time, and return my thanks for the notice you have been pleased to take of my letters. Indeed, the pains you have been at, in correcting them for the press, make them as much or more yours, than those of your much obliged and humble servant,

THOMAS HOOD.

Marlborough Ward, Royal Hospital,  
Greenwich, Dec. 14th, 1825.